/140 cont./

*177 464 461 [142] [314] [124] developed a superior technique, in combination with the great endurance which they show in a most arduous form of labor. It is general knowledge in Mato Grosso that there is no better casqueiro /"bark stripper"/ than the Terêna. At a "round table" we held in Duque Estrada, in 1955, we had the opportunity to hear the testimonies of three fazendeiros, who were unanimously favorable to the Indian as a laborer, in spite of the fact that at first they tried to disparage him, only changing their attitude and giving up the stereotypes after an intensive discussion among them which we stimulated. They finally agreed that the Terêna is the /basic/ regional manual laborer, and even the manual laborer in highest demand: "He works well, lives on little, and is very obedient."

46 The extraction of angico bark or, simply, of timber, seem to be preferential productive activities of the aldea Terêna, with the exception, of course, of work on their own farm plots. In 1957 the leader of a work gang could earn 80 cruzeiros a day, 46 and the men under him 65 cruzeiros. Such undertakings do not 484 bring them as much as it might seem, because expenses are very high: food, clothing, and work tools; aside from this, the days when they are away from their families--from about one week to one month--are regarded as very tough: the sleeping arrangements are worse, they have no women, the food is bad, and the [829] money they bring back does not make up for it....But even so, they prefer to wander from fazenda to fazenda, i.e., changuear, always returning to the aldea, to leaving it and settling with 46 their family in some "colônia." The work pattern of most of these Indians is a combination of the changa, i.e., sporadic work for masters, with planting on their own "lots," in the aldea.

*177 The nonmanual labor in the city, or the craft work in 463 the country, for the aldea Indian, represents a "saving of the 826 body," and thus /141/ an incentive to giving up the traditional 159 production activities. Let us take, as an illustration, the case *177 of the Indian, Arlindo: this Terêna, a young man of 28, had 256 begun work in the bakery trade in the city of Aquidauana, 46 [162]

/141 cont./

159 where he went to live with his wife and a small child, leaving
*177 his own community, Cachoeirinha, "to try it out." He lived
251 in the boss's house, next to the bakery, and his wife worked
46 in the same house as a domestic servant. He says that in spite
[162] of the fact that the mistress--the boss's wife--was very ill-tempered with the bakery employees, he was sticking it out and would not leave of his own free will. "He was already carving the bread, and shortly he would no longer be an assistant! As a baker," he stated with some vehemence, "he would end up earning 2,500 cruzeiros, and if he got to be a 'master,' he could earn 7,500 cruzeiros!" According to what he told us, it could not be said that his work (at least as a baker's assistant) was much better than what he might have achieved in the aldea or on the fazendas; he worked from 10 p.m. until noon the next day; he rested about four hours and took up his work, making flour until 8 p.m., when he had dinner, and at 10 p.m. he went on to make bread again.
[824] This was his daily routine. And in spite of this, he pondered: "The only bad thing was the pain in the eyes (due to the flour, the dust, or the weak light) and the sleepiness; the body did not tire much, as happens in agricultural work; but, the most
● 826 important thing was that it was not worn down!" This concern
461 with saving the body, we were able to ascertain, was common to most of the Terêna with whom we spoke. One of them, for example, explained to us that he had given up work "beating" coffee, because his arms and his lungs could no longer take
183 it.... The tendency for young men, as they themselves say,
463 "is to find a trade (such as baker, wood furniture maker, etc.) or to set up a 'bolicho' and earn money in the shade." We shall see below why this is no more than a rarely achieved expectation, as is well illustrated by Arlindo himself, who is now "changueando" and trying to set up his own farm plot on the family "lot."

826 This concern with the body--which we do not claim to
*177 be peculiar to the Indian--is one of the factors that have operated
463
555

/141 cont./

rather actively in the social mobility of the Terêna, impelling him to try to change his "trade" or, better, to acquire skill in a nonmanual trade, wherever the opportunity arises. Since what little craft work to be found in the aldea /142/ itself, such as metal work, leather work, or tailoring, is not sufficient to exempt those who exercise it from agricultural tasks and work on the fazendas, a move to the cities (physical mobility) appears to the Terêna as the sole possibility for a real change of occupation (horizontal mobility) while at the same time it might raise him in social life (vertical mobility). While such a new occupation is not always achieved, as in the case of Arlindo, the attempts and efforts exerted to obtain it always yield new experiences to the individual and, indirectly, to the group. We may conclude that the labor market, both urban and rural, to the extent that it draws the Terêna outside his aldea, is creating conditions for his assimilation.

Divergent Factors

1. The existence of a peculiar physical appearance as well as language, creates barriers which are extraordinarily difficult to overcome, since the Terêna is discriminated against wherever he goes. This applies to the aldea Indians, and in a sense to those on the fazendas--as far as the phenotype is concerned--more than among those living in the cities, who for the most part speak Portuguese correctly and without an accent, while at the same time they dress better and are practically undifferentiated from the neo-Brazilian of the less-favored classes. Their very physical type blends with that of the biologically mestizo population (207) which, on its part, never

207. We say "biologically mestizo" in spite of being aware that we are falling